

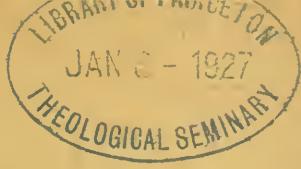
A.T. Olmstead

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A. T. OLMSTEAD

John D. Bunn  
3600 S. State St.

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THE GREEK GENESIS

By A. T. OLMISTEAD  
University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois

A comparatively unworked field was cultivated in our study of Kings. It was not difficult for us to discover there, if not the true "Septuagint," at least the earliest of the Greek translations available, and this text was sharply differentiated from the later forms.<sup>1</sup> The case of the Greek Genesis is far different. It is true that in one respect we are at an advantage in that the greater part of the manuscript data has been newly collected in the Cambridge Old Testament in Greek, and it is also true that a considerable amount of first-class work has already been done by aid of this new evidence. This advantage, however, is more than counterbalanced by the doubt as to the various strata in the Greek translation, and by the difficulty in deciding the earliest form of the text preserved us.

The greatest difficulty remains to be mentioned. While the scholar may work out the problem of Kings far from the strife of theology, the Book of Genesis is the very storm-center of the fight against the "higher criticism," and the historian is frequently in doubt whether he is actually investigating the sources for Hebrew origins or the "history of the warfare between science and theology." Recently a new complication has been introduced. By a curious

<sup>1</sup> *AJSL*, XXX, 1 ff.; XXXI, 169 ff.

turn of affairs, an attack on the higher criticism, that is, the Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen school,<sup>1</sup> is being conducted by an appeal to the lower, or textual, criticism. Equally curious, some of the more orthodox "higher critics" are meeting the attack by minimizing the value of the versions, while the new opponents of the higher criticism are being led to a position compared with which the higher criticism is decided conservatism.

The independent scholar, who is not wedded to the current theory, cannot but admit that there seems considerable need of the restatement of the versions' importance. The new attack has forced the higher criticism to reconsider the basis of positions which were fast becoming a new and rather hide-bound orthodoxy, it has demanded a more radical criticism of the Massoretic Text, it has shown a surprisingly large amount of editorial redaction of a surprisingly late date. How needed was this attack can be realized when we find the leader of the now conservative critics asserting that

while the LXX contains particular readings which are shown by internal evidence to be superior to the Hebrew, yet an examination of its general text proves that on the whole it is inferior to the Massoretic Hebrew. I do not think that this will be disputed by any competent Old Testament scholar. The **MT** is often emended from the LXX, but practically never except for some superiority, real or supposed, attaching to the reading presupposed by LXX in particular cases.<sup>2</sup>

If, therefore, a textual critic gives the preference to LXX readings, as such, he must be prepared to maintain the *general superiority of its text . . .* But if he essays this, he will speedily land himself in a *reductio ad absurdum* of the critical axiom with which he starts. It is notorious that the LXX contains many readings which presuppose a Hebrew text, not only inferior to the **MT**, but absolutely inadmissible; i.e., one which no commentator with a regard for the meaning of the passage could possibly accept.<sup>3</sup>

After such a confession of faith, or rather lack of faith, it is not surprising to find that his elaborate commentary on Genesis has no

<sup>1</sup> In these days, when everything "made in Germany" is at a discount, it is well to obviate the unconscious prejudice caused by calling it the "Wellhausen theory," by insisting that Wellhausen merely popularized what was begun by the Alsatian Graf and worked out by the Dutchman Kuenen.

<sup>2</sup> Skinner, *Divine Names* 166.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 168 ff. Is there not here a confusion between blunders of the Greek *translators* and the text they misunderstood? Often their blunders are the best evidence of the superiority of their text, and when we have more fully studied their mistakes, as, for example, Margolis has done, we shall see that this is true in still other cases.

section on the versions, and that when he quotes them he is far from accurate.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding Skinner's dictum as to "competent Old Testament scholars," we must point out as a matter of historical accuracy that the "advent of textual criticism" is not to be assigned to the new school. At a time when the Revised Version of the Old Testament was looked upon with suspicion, though the revisers had not inserted in the text the absolutely necessary corrections of the versions, and had graced even the margins with but few, the higher critics were using, however inadequately, the versions to correct the traditional text. If Skinner followed the bad example of Driver in not giving a section to the text in his commentary, other commentators in the series, especially the Americans, have given brief but excellent studies, for example, the important contribution to the two texts in the Greek Judges made by G. F. Moore. The studies of Driver on Samuel and of Burney on Kings are classics in textual criticism. Cornill is certainly a follower of Wellhausen, yet his reconstruction of the text of Ezekiel is a model of what such a reconstruction should be; indeed, the writer remembers a sharp attack by a conservative journal on Cornill for his excision of the David midrash in Samuel, though, as everyone knows, this is not ejected for subjective reasons, but because it is absent from the B Text. The latest commentary on Genesis, that of Procksch, is written from a thoroughly "critical" standpoint, but it contains the best brief introduction to the versions on that book, and Procksch had already shown by his *Septuaginta Studien* that he was an accomplished textual critic. Indeed, if we were to look for the closest representation of the text which we might reasonably assume would be reconstructed by the new school, we should find it, minus the rainbow colors, in the Polychrome Bible, the most advanced production of the higher critics. We should find there the same interpolations relegated to the margins, in both cases on the basis of the versions, the only difference being that the new school

<sup>1</sup> Thus on 32:3, he has "σ om," though only A Eth do so, while on vs. 7 he confines the omission to σ<sup>A</sup> though DLM<sup>txt</sup> bdphilnpqrstuv<sup>txt</sup>d<sub>2</sub> Sah all agree in omitting the "camels." So in 45:3 and 36:19, additions only in A and almost certainly scribal blunders are ascribed to σ. On 46:29, he quotes πονη as the reading of σ though it is only in B<sup>\*n</sup> and is obviously the worst sort of an inner corruption of πλειον, which is found in all the other manuscripts and versions, but to Skinner is only a variant!

would logically exclude from the reconstructed text a much larger number of redactional interpolations.

A renewed study of the problem is therefore not out of place, especially by one who, because of his position as a teacher of history, must necessarily take a somewhat neutral point of view, who has never been committed to any one school, and who is inclined to find much of good in "conservative" and "critic" alike. The purpose of the paper is not, to be sure, the reconstruction of the original text of Genesis, nor is it primarily intended to test the higher criticism or the results of the new school. Rather it is the much less ambitious one of discovering the instances where the study of the Greek translation assists the historian in the problem of the sources, and other questions are only incidentally touched.<sup>1</sup>

Some of the most fundamental problems of the versions remain still to be solved, yet certain facts are already sure. First of all, we note that the Massoretic Text was fixed at a rather late date. In the very Law itself, with all its sanctity, we have frequent cases where there are striking variations in the Hebrew manuscripts which profess to give that text, and no small number of these are supported by the versions.<sup>2</sup> To quote but a single instance, no less than fifteen collated Hebrew manuscripts<sup>3</sup> give בְּרֵבָב in Gen. 50:25, and when we find this supported by Vulgate, Samaritan, and Greek, we must accept it as the actual reading, even though missing in the majority of witnesses.<sup>4</sup> While the additions by this means cannot be expected to be large or important, yet it is perfectly clear that the scholar who will undertake the laborious task of recollating and studying from the genealogical point of view the various extant Hebrew manuscripts

<sup>1</sup> The present paper was begun in 1914 and virtually completed in the summer of 1915. Numerous passages have been deliberately left unchanged in order that they might be compared with the results of Wiener, whose conclusions, published in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* in recent years, as well as in *Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism*, *Pentateuchal Studies*, and *Origin of the Pentateuch*, have, in spite of their totally different purpose and their apologetic point of view, been remarkably like those which the writer has discovered, working in almost complete independence and on the basis of the work done on Kings.

<sup>2</sup> Wiener, *Bibl. Sacra*, LXXI, 630 ff., has done good service in pointing this out.

<sup>3</sup> K. 111, 226, 248, 474, 592, 593, 603, 611, 612, 441\*, 415(?), R. 16\*, 661, 668, 592.

<sup>4</sup> It is accepted by Skinner, *ad loc.* Yet note that only K. 248, R. 16, 592, are in his "panel of acceptable MSS" in *Names 101*. If the others are correct here, their testimony should be considered seriously in other places, e.g., the reading of the divine name in 18:27; 20:4, where K. 111 is quoted.

will have made a distinct contribution to the final reconstruction of the text, and it is not impossible that startling agreements with the versions may be found.

The Vulgate and the Syriae are hardly more than manuscripts of the current Hebrew, yet the Syriae now and then adds its bit,<sup>1</sup> and the Vulgate, because of its retention of the Old Latin text, varies to a surprising degree at times.<sup>2</sup> Especially disappointing is the Hebrew text in the possession of the Samaritans, now at last edited with a fair degree of finality.<sup>3</sup> The number of variants between the manuscripts is astonishingly small; for instance, von Gall could find but nine cases where the divine names varied from the Massoretic Text, and only on 20:18 has a single manuscript, F, a variant. This agreement of the names of the deity is, in the words of Skinner, "perhaps, all things considered, the most remarkable phenomenon in the history of the Hebrew text,"<sup>4</sup> but this agreement is not to be explained by asserting "what history tells us is that the Samaritan Pentateuch is older than the Greek translation";<sup>5</sup> for history tells us, and in uncertain tones at that, only that there was a Samaritan community, and the existence of such a community no more proves the contemporary existence of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and especially of one in its present form, than does the existence of the Aramaic-speaking Jewish community at Elephantine in the Persian period prove that the Targums date from that time. The essential agreement between the Samaritan and the standard Hebrew has been much adduced for apologetic purposes, but the evidence is rapidly increasing to prove that its text is late.<sup>6</sup>

All these sources have what is in the large the Massoretic type of text, yet with frequent variations. It is especially instructive to note how often we have an agreement of the Samaritan, Syriae, Vulgate, and even Targum, against the traditional reading. It is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. Hänel, *Die aussermassorethischen Übereinstimmungen zwischen der Septuaginta und der Peschiththa in der Genesis*, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wiener, *Bibl. Sacra*, LXXI, 642 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Von Gall, *Der Hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner*, 1914; but cf. for criticism Tisserant, *Rev. Bibl.*, N.S., XI, 542 ff., who points out that sixteen manuscripts are not used for twenty-three which are.

<sup>4</sup> *Names* 116 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 131.

<sup>6</sup> AJSL, XXXI, 206; cf. N. Schmidt, *Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, XXXIII, 31 ff.; Wiener, *Bibl. Sacra*, LXII, 83 ff.

equally instructive to observe how rarely the variations from the standard text are of much importance. The revision of the text from which these were derived has been rigid, and only unessential variations have escaped the corrector.

Thus we have in the Book of Genesis, as in other parts of the Old Testament, two sharply differentiated texts, that represented by the Greek, and that roughly by the present Hebrew. Taking these two by themselves, it might be possible to argue that they represent unrelated texts, that one is not a development of the other.<sup>1</sup> Fortunately, for Genesis we have a precious authority in the Book of Jubilees, which can be shown to be the link which unites, in text as in time, the two stages in the development. So important is this evidence that we may be pardoned for giving, not our own impression, but the statement of its editor, made without the slightest reference to the problem now under discussion:

Our book attests an independent form of the Hebrew text. . . . Our book represents some form of the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch midway between the forms presupposed by the LXX and the Syriac. For it agrees more frequently with the LXX . . . or with combinations into which the LXX enters . . . than with any other single authority or with any combination excluding the LXX. Next to the LXX it agrees most often with the Syriac . . . or with combinations into which the Syriac enters. . . . On the other hand its independence of the LXX is shown . . . and its actual superiority in a large array of readings . . . where it has the support of the Sam. and Mass., or of these with various combinations of Syr., Vulg., and Onk.

If to the above considerations we add the facts, that, so far as I am aware, (1) it never agrees against all the rest with the Mass., which is in some respects the latest form of the Hebrew text; (2) that it agrees in a few cases with Onk., oftener with the Vulg., and still oftener with the Syr., and oftenest with the LXX, against all the rest; (3) that, when it enters combinations, it is almost universally in attestation of the earlier reading, it may be reasonably concluded that the textual evidence points to the composition of our book at some period between 250 b.c. (LXX version of the Pentateuch) and 100 a.d., and at a time nearer the earlier date than the latter.<sup>2</sup>

The importance of the Book of Jubilees for the reconstruction of the text is very great. At the present juncture its greatest value to us is in what it teaches us as to the general character of the textual

<sup>1</sup> As, e.g., Barton (*Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, XXXIII, 63) argues against me for Kings.

<sup>2</sup> Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, XXXVIII f.

history. First, it does furnish us the connecting link between the earlier and the later groups of texts. It has much developed from the text of the Greek; for example, it has the Ur episode and the later order of the one concerning Rachel's tomb, yet it is far from the Massoretic Text as a whole. Evidently there was no such single marked revision as that which took place in Kings, yet revision to a considerable degree can be seen. Our second discovery is more startling. A Jew of the most undoubted orthodoxy, a stout defender of the most legalistic faith, one in close sympathy with the Maccabean royal house, had before him a text which was very much farther away from our present Hebrew than is that which is today found among the Samaritans! Such a fact, for fact it undoubtedly is, challenges explanation. The most obvious reply is that, in its passage through the Greek, Latin, or Ethiopic translations, it was corrected to the Greek or to its versions, but the most superficial study of the agreements, especially in its combinations, will show this view to be untenable. That the Massoretic Text was revised to the Samaritan is unthinkable, scarcely less so is the converse, yet this last seems the only hypothesis, and there is other evidence which fits with it.<sup>1</sup>

The isolation of the true Septuagint for Genesis is no easy task.<sup>2</sup> Our first clue might seem to be the colophon to that book in the manuscripts B and c<sub>2</sub>, γενεσις κατα τους εβδομηκοντα, "Genesis according to the Seventy," that is, that the text is hexaplaric. Unfortunately the two do not always agree. In the little over four chapters of Genesis in which B is preserved, there are almost one hundred and fifty cases where c<sub>2</sub> is specifically said to differ from B, and twenty-one of these are cases where c<sub>2</sub> has an obviously hexaplaric reading as over against B. We might then assume that c<sub>2</sub> gives the text closest to the later Hebrew, but a short examination shows that barely a third of the readings in which that differs from the general run of Greek manuscripts are found in it. The only manuscript which we may compare with Q in the prophets, because it has the marginal notes giving exact ascriptions to the later translators, is

<sup>1</sup> Burkitt (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, XV, 403) tells us that "the Pentateuch became canonical from very early times, and the consonantal text was practically fixed in the Maccabaeon age," but how can this be squared with the testimony of Jubilees? Cf. also Reider, *ibid.*, N.S., VII, 292, n. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. especially the reviews of G. P. Moore, *AJSL*, XXIX, 37 ff.; Procksch, *Genesis* 13 ff.

§, and § is preserved only in fragments. The Syro-Hexaplar is missing for two-thirds of the book, and M, the cursives  $\text{jvc}_2$ , and the Armenian are often obviously untrustworthy.

In this uncertainty it is possible to secure results of some validity by noting the agreements of the various manuscripts and versions with the Massoretic Text in readings of importance. Many witnesses are not entirely preserved, but we may calculate their percentage, though we must place these less certain results in brackets. In the whole book there are, on a conservative estimate, about five hundred cases where we may say, with some confidence, that correction to the later text has taken place. The results of the comparison are somewhat surprising.

In many and important cases there is not a single manuscript or version which has been corrected to the Massoretic Text. Also the manuscript which has the largest number of such corrections, a, has but three-fifths of the cases where the Greek and the Hebrew differ. Only one conclusion can be drawn from these facts, for facts they most certainly are, that there has never been such an edition of the Septuagint as we found in Kings, which has been consistently corrected to the later text, not even that which is the ancestor of the Samaritan, Vulgate, and Syriac, as well as the current Hebrew. It is true that we find a text which is more "hexaplaric," that is, corrected to the "Hebrew verity," but this does not show homogeneous correction within its own limits.

The statistics, incomplete as they are, show the manuscripts and versions to fall into three sharply marked classes. First comes that represented by A and, so far as preserved, by B and y, with a little over 5 per cent of seeming corrections to the Hebrew. Then come the majority of the witnesses, a long straggling group, [d<sub>2</sub>, 10 per cent]; [G, 14 per cent]; [E, 15 per cent]; r, 16 per cent; [Sah] Eth, 17 per cent; t, 18 per cent; h, 19 per cent; D [FLM] bdegijlp, 20 per cent; uv, 21 per cent; Boh, 22 per cent; qw, 23 per cent; ns, 24 per cent; [Pal, Lat] f, 25 per cent; and perhaps others which, because of the briefness of extent or uncertainty of first reading, cannot be certainly classed. Then comes a sharply marked break until we reach [k, 40 per cent]; Arm, 50 per cent; c<sub>2</sub>, 54 per cent; [b<sub>2</sub>] mo, 55 per cent; x, 58 per cent; a [e], 60 per cent.

Now these statistics have a fairly large element of subjectivity which must be allowed for, and the results may not be quite accurate in detail. For example, the difference between t with 18 per cent and d and p with 20 per cent is not marked enough to split up this recognized recension. The identity of egj is strikingly confirmed. On the other hand, the difference between r with 16 per cent and f with 25 per cent is enough to raise doubt as to this family being homogeneous, especially as we note that in the earlier chapters f is the most hexaplaric of all, while in the later it has a decidedly good character. The general results can certainly not be denied. We have a text which is nearly pure from revision, another which marks a fairly closely revised text, and half-way between stand the majority of the witnesses. Since the correction has been so spasmodic, our methods must also be eclectic, though in but few cases will it be found that we must depart from the readings of the group ABy.

Aside from this group, the nearest to the original Greek, and ackmoxc<sub>2</sub> Armenian, the nearest to the Massoretic, our listing is decidedly uncertain. Three groups, however, stand out clearly, dnptd<sub>2</sub>, fi<sup>a</sup>r Ethiopic, and egj. Since the exhaustive comparison made by Hautsch with the Antiochian Fathers, we know that the first represents the revision of Lucian, with its obvious faults and virtues.<sup>1</sup> The group fi<sup>a</sup>r agrees so regularly with the two Coptic versions and even more particularly with the Ethiopic that Procksch is almost certainly right in making it Hesychianic.<sup>2</sup> What the groups egj and bw 108 118, represent is quite uncertain.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E. Hautsch, *Der Lukiantext des Oktateuch* (1909), 518 ff.; cf. also G. F. Moore, *loc. cit.* Coming fresh from a study of the undoubtedly Lucianic text in Kings, my own impression confirms this conclusion. Dahse, *Ztschr. f. alttest. Wiss.*, XXVIII, 1 ff., considers fir Eth Lucianic and Procksch, *Genesis* 14, prefers egj.

<sup>2</sup> Procksch, *Genesis* 14. While the Ethiopic does not here have the same value as in Kings, it is still of much importance. The Cambridge Septuagint has collated three important manuscripts, p (Y in Boyd), comparatively free from correction to the Massoretic Text and taken as the standard in my citation of the Ethiopic, f, somewhat conformed, and c, which is still closer to the Massoretic Text. Thus we have roughly the three groups we found in Kings, which Hackspill (*ZA*, XI, 117 ff., 367 ff.) has shown to be found in the Gospels as well. (Note also for the Ethiopic Kings, N. Roupp, *ZA*, XVI, 296 ff., "die älteste äthiopische Handschrift der vier Bücher der Könige.") The Haverford Codex, first given in the new edition of the Ethiopic, J. O. Boyd, *The Octateuch in Ethiopic* (1909), cf. *The Text of the Ethiopic Version of the Octateuch* (1905), is close to p, but independent and so of great value.

<sup>3</sup> E is relatively good, but I cannot understand why Procksch, *Genesis* 13, should believe that it "konnte die originellste Unzialhandschrift der Genesis sein, die wir haben."

The question as to the relative position of the Fathers is little aided by the table of corrections to the later text. Isolated instances of such correction are not infrequent, but in only three cases is the evidence clear enough to be worth quoting. We are not surprised to find that Chrysostom has a notably hexaplaric text, almost a fifth of our passages actually quoted in the later form, nor that Cyril is next with some 7 per cent. But it is cause for wonder to find ranking with him Philo with thirty-five actual quotations in hexaplaric form. We may explain away some of these as due to contamination from the hexaplaric Armenian, since a large number are preserved only in that language, but with all possible deduction it remains evident that by the time of Philo a long step had been taken toward correcting the Greek to a Hebrew which was not far from that in our present text.

The most serious error in the preparation of the Cambridge Septuagint is the failure to adduce the evidence from before the time of Philo. Many of the Jewish works of this period, it is true, have been through the hands of Christian interpolators and show more or less correction, while the other fragments have often been corrected to the Hebrew. In further complication there are serious questions of literary genealogy to be investigated before we can fully utilize the material. The evidence should at least have been presented as thoroughly as in the case of Philo. One group surely is in fairly good shape, the earliest Jewish historical writers to use the Greek language. One of them, Demetrius, was almost contemporary with the translators of the Pentateuch, and reminiscences of the Septuagint are numerous and striking. In one case, and that an important one, he proves a reading to be the true Septuagint which was otherwise preserved only in a late Latin Anonymous.

While the differences between the Greek and the Hebrew Genesis are by no means as striking as we found them in Kings, yet there are most instructive cases. In many individual readings, or apparent readings, there is some question as to what was read by the Greek, and whether they read truly. Where we have, not an isolated reading rarely affecting the meaning, but a difference so marked as to indicate deliberate editing, a somewhat more elaborate study is demanded by the historical investigator. In this type the case is generally so clear that error is rarely probable.

The most striking differences in Genesis are the “transpositions,” for they, like the similar “transpositions” in Kings, are most valuable in themselves, and they often give the clue to less obvious changes. We shall begin with 47:5f., since it is accepted by the majority of critics. In the original of the Greek, it must have run somewhat as follows:

Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, “Let them dwell in the land of Goshen and if thou knowest that there are among them able men, make them rulers over my cattle.” And Jacob and his sons came into Egypt unto Joseph and Pharaoh, king of Egypt, heard thereof, and Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, saying, “Thy father and thy brethren are come unto thee; behold, the land of Egypt is before thee; in the best of the land make thy father and thy brethren to dwell.” And Joseph brought, etc.

The whole situation is summed up by Skinner as follows:

The overlapping of J and P at this point can be proved and corrected from **G**. . . . It will hardly be disputed that the text of **G** is here the original, and that P’s narrative commences with the additional sentences. . . . The editor of **HAT** felt the doublet to be too glaring; he therefore omitted these two sentences; and then by transposition worked the two accounts into a single scene. . . . We have here an instructive example of the complex process by which the sources were gradually worked into a smooth narrative, and one which deserves the attention of those writers who ridicule the minute and intricate operations which the critical theory finds it necessary to attribute to the redactors.<sup>1</sup>

Leaving out of question the nomenclature of the two sources, we have here sound doctrine which should be accepted by higher and lower critics alike. We have proof that the processes of the lower criticism at times strikingly resemble those of the higher. Had the higher criticism more frequently kept as open a mind toward the lower as it has in this instance, it would have been impregnable against the attacks of the new school.

The manner in which the manuscripts and versions handle the problem is most instructive in view of the other cases where the issue is not so clearly defined. The “hexaplaric” group, *ackmoquxe<sub>2</sub>Arm Eth Syr, insert 5b, 6a*, where it is found in the present Hebrew, but they use the words of the true Septuagint and not that of “the Hebrew and the Others.” The Ethiopic omits “Let them dwell in

<sup>1</sup> *Genesis* 497 n.

the land of Goshen," and "in the land of Goshen" is also missing in Chrysostom. Further, the Ethiopic omits from "Jacob and his sons" to the end of the passage, and in this it has the support of x Arm Syr. My have "They came to Egypt" under the obelus, that is, they indicate that it was in the LXX, but not in the later Hebrew. The Old Latin has left out "Jacob and his sons." From "Pharaoh heard" to the end is not in k; c<sub>2</sub> has not "Pharaoh, king of Egypt, heard," and p has not "the king of Egypt." My place "and Pharaoh said" to the end under the asterisk, as if in the later Hebrew, though not in the later Greek, although qsu are the only Greek manuscripts which omit these words. From "saying" to the end is not in eoc<sub>2</sub>, and from "behold" in b<sub>2</sub>. Finally, note that in one place v has the "Hebrew and Others" reading.

Rarely do we have a case where the lower criticism throws so much light on the higher, and where the process of incomplete correction to the Massoretic Text is so obvious. In the present example we have the original Greek text, as well as the various stages in its partial correction to the standard Hebrew. We may therefore presume that other examples of marked disturbances in the text indicate a similar correction of the original Greek, though that original has not been fully preserved for comparison.<sup>1</sup>

Our next instance of transposition, 31:26 ff., is much more serious, and has not received the same approval of the Wellhausen school.<sup>2</sup> Here likewise we may well begin with a translation:

And Laban said to Jacob, "What hast thou done? Wherefore didst thou flee secretly and steal away from me? and hast carried away my daughters as captives of the sword, and if thou hadst told me I would have sent thee away with mirth and with song, with tabret and with harp." And

<sup>1</sup> Later studies will apply this more in detail; the present paper gives only those cases where the Greek original can be certainly discovered.

<sup>2</sup> "Die LXX suchten durch Umstellungen vergeblich Ordnung zu schaffen," Dillmann, *ad loc.*; so also Skinner, *Genesis* 400. "Der Text ist durch die Quellenverflechtung um grosse Unordnung geraten, aus der auch ⸿ keinen Rettungsweg bietet," Procksch, *Genesis* 353, cf. *Elohimquelle* 31, n. 3, though he notes that ⸿ agrees with source differentiation in so far as 46 is followed by 48 and that, after the gloss 47, which is displaced by ⸿, by 51. Holzinger, *Genesis* 204, observes, "Der Text von LXX gäbe keinen Anlass an zwei Quellen zu denken." (The discussion which follows was already written down when there came to hand the study of this passage by Wiener, *Bibl. Saara*, LXXIII, 140 ff. It has been left unchanged in order that the striking coincidences in results obtained from such different standpoints may be the more clearly shown.)

Laban answered and said to Jacob, "Your daughters are my daughters and your sons are my sons and your flocks are my flocks and all that thou seest is mine. And what can I do this day with these my daughters or unto their children whom they have borne? and now, come, let us make a covenant, I and thou, and let it be for a witness between me and thee." And Jacob said to him, "Behold, no man is with us; see, God is witness between me and thee." And Jacob took a stone and set it up for a pillar. And Jacob said unto his brethren, "Gather stones," and they gathered stones and made a heap, and they did eat and drink there by the heap. And Laban said unto him, "This heap is witness between me and thee this day." And Laban called it "The heap of witness," but Jacob called it "The heap be witness." And Laban said unto Jacob "Behold this heap and this pillar which I have set betwixt me and thee. This heap be witness and this pillar be witness." Wherefore its name was called "The heap be witness" and the "Watch Tower," for he said, "God watch between me and thee when we are absent one from another. If thou shalt afflict my daughters, if thou shalt take other wives beside my daughters—see, no one is with us. For if I shall not pass over to you, neither shalt thou pass over this heap and this pillar to me for evil. The God of Abraham and the God of Nahor judge between us." And Jacob sware by the Fear of his father Isaac. And Jacob offered a sacrifice in the mount and called his brethren and they ate and drank and slept in the mount.

Now it would be obviously absurd to insist that this account, as it stands, represents the original, for the text had a long and complicated history before the date of the Greek translation. That fact should not be permitted to prevent us from seeing that even in its present form it does not increase the confusion,<sup>1</sup> but rather furnishes the means for a clearer view. Laban has suggested a covenant as a witness. But Laban has shown himself in the not far distant past shifty as regards human contracts, and Jacob insists that every possible sanction should be given the agreement. To mark its exceptionally solemn character, Jacob erects the sacred pillar and then calls upon his brethren, evidently the clansmen who had pursued him with Laban, to associate themselves by heaping up the sacred cairn. Finally all partake of the communal meal. Omitting the following verse as an interpolation,<sup>2</sup> Laban points out *both* the stele

<sup>1</sup> As Skinner, *Genesis* 400.

<sup>2</sup> It is almost universally admitted that the second half, the bilingual naming, is late, in view of the Aramaic. Such a view is supported by the fact that M places it under the asterisk, f omits it entirely, and mo omit the second half. One might argue that M has

and the cairn as witnesses, and the names of both are given. The witnessing is made reason for the naming of the heap, the pillar is named for the reason following. The story ends with the sacred meal and with incubation. Thus we have an "Elohistic" text with certain very late interpolations rather than two separate E and J documents.

The translation given on p. 156f. has been based on the text of Codex A, here, as elsewhere in Genesis, our most trustworthy single witness to the original, but the other evidence should also be considered. Perhaps most important of all, because free from Greek influence, we must place the account of Jubilees: "Jacob made a feast for Laban and for all who came with him, and Jacob sware to Laban that day and Laban also to Jacob that neither should cross the mountain of Gilead to the other with evil purpose. And he made a heap there for witness, wherefore the name of that place is called (The Heap of Witness) after that heap."<sup>1</sup> From this we cannot discover the exact text which lay behind it, but evidently the story was briefer and more consistent than the one in our present Greek. One point at least seems clear, that there was no pillar in the original story.

The data given by the various Greek manuscripts are complicated and we are not always sure as to their exact bearing. For the hexaplaric signs we are dependent upon M, and the very first example it gives us is wrong, for it places, not only 44b but all that the Greek has of 45 under the obelus. Strangely enough, the "hexaplaric" manuscripts all have the addition in 44b, while on the other hand bm Eth Cyr-cod omit it entirely and the Bohairic partially. M is correct in placing 48 of the Greek under the obelus, but here again none of the manuscripts or versions omit it as a whole. Portions are missing in bfmp 107 Eth, but the manner in which this is done shows that it was the result of partial assimilation to the received Hebrew text.

made here one of its too-frequent mistakes, and mo may have dropped it by partial homoeoteleuton, since they are strongly hexaplaric. But f in this part of Genesis is a rather good manuscript, and an explanation of its omission of the entire verse is more difficult. We should also omit 48a, placed before the bilingual verse in the Greek, as a virtual duplication of 52a of the current enumeration, made necessary when the interpolation was inserted.

<sup>1</sup> Jubilees 29:7 f.

Positively amazing is it to find that the “hexaplaric” manuscripts give the verse entire, even going their own way in one place. Equally strange is it to find the Armenian giving the asterisk only to the word “God” in verse 50, though the whole passage is not in the Greek. With 53 we begin to have **G**, a trustworthy authority for the hexaplaric marks, though here the ascriptions are of no importance.

The most striking fact is the surprisingly small authority for the omissions of the Massoretic Text, and it is equally surprising that this authority is *never* found in the “hexaplaric” manuscripts. There is no authority whatever for the placing of the verses 48b–50 before 51 in the modern Hebrew. On the other hand, the “hexaplaric” manuscripts agree in giving the longer additions in 46, 50, and 51, as well as the briefer in 53f., but it is significant that these seem regularly made from Aquila, that is, only a late authority for them is found.<sup>1</sup>

An interesting change in order which also leads to an important topographical conclusion is to be found in chapter 35, where verse 21 is placed before verse 16, so that we read “and Jacob journeyed from Bethel and spread his tent beyond the tower of Eder and it came to pass that when he was near the chabrathe to go into the land of Ephratha that Rachel travailed, etc., and Rachel died and was buried in the way of Ephratha, the same is Bethlehem.” If we accept this order, then it is definitely settled that the tomb of Rachel is to be sought on the direct road between Bethel and Bethlehem, and that there is no objection to acceptance of the traditional site. Tradition should not, especially in Palestine, be overemphasized, but when we observe that the greatest of authorities on the topography of the Holy Land, with all his dislike of traditional sites, nevertheless accepted the one under discussion, we are given pause.<sup>2</sup> We may insist that the identification of Ephratha with Bethlehem is a gloss,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M on 52 gives under α' ☘ συν τον σωρον τουτον, and cox have the συν. Additions are identified by use of the good Greek word σωρος, where the original had the Sicilo-Macedonian βουνος, so common as the word for mountain on the modern maps of Greece. Codex k has συν τον σωρον τουτον = בְּנֵי בָּנָא, after the first “stones” of 46. If not taken by error from 52, then Aquila has here a different reading from the Massoretic Text. In 46, f has the Massoretic Text addition, not in the hexaplaric, i.e., Aquila, form, but in one whose closeness to LXX makes one suspect it to be the reading of Symmachus.

<sup>2</sup> Robinson, *Bibl. Researches*, I, 218ff.; III, 273.

<sup>3</sup> Stade, *Ztschr. f. alttest. Wiss.*, III, 1ff.

but we still have no objection to the traditional location if we accept the Greek order. Of recent years it has become the fashion to argue that the order of the Greek shows "the influence of the theory that (the tower of Eder) was at Jerusalem, which Jacob would naturally pass on the way to Jerusalem,"<sup>1</sup> and the view has been popularized by no less an authority than Baedeker. None the less, it is rather disconcerting to find that the "theory that (the tower of Eder) was found at Jerusalem" first appears in Mic. 4:8. If we attribute this to the prophet himself, then the theory was held but a little later than the supposed date of the Elohistic document itself, and long before that of the last redactor of the Pentateuch. If we accept the later date assigned by certain scholars,<sup>2</sup> the "theory" has still an antiquity that surely demands respectful consideration. The agreement of Micah and the Greek Genesis surely outweighs such authority as we can demand for the Massoretic Text.

But we are told that "the site of Rachel's grave is determined by I Sa 10<sup>3</sup> (on the border of Benjamin, between Ramah and Gibeah) and Jer. 31<sup>14</sup>." How the second verse, "Rachel weeping for her children because they are dead," has anything to do with the death of Rachel herself is difficult to understand. Later commentators seem to have forgotten the sensible remarks of Robinson, "Rachel, the ancestress of the tribe of Benjamin, is poetically introduced as bewailing the departure of her descendants into exile, from Ramah of Benjamin, their place of rendezvous."<sup>13</sup> As it stands, the Samuel passage certainly proves a site at Ramah. But higher criticism<sup>4</sup> agrees with common sense in telling us that there are two accounts of the anointing of Saul, and it is worthy of note that only the later account speaks of Ramah, and this is obviously as late or later than the Micah passage. The earlier seems almost intentionally vague as to the city of Saul, but it very carefully indicates that the tomb

<sup>1</sup> So Skinner, *ad loc.* But cf. Holzinger, *ad loc.*, who says "LXX lässt unter der Voraussetzung, dass Ephratha v. 16 = Bethlehem, Migdal Eder = Jerusalem ist, ganz richtig den Jacob vor der Geburt Benjamins Migdal-Eder sofort nach Bethel passieren, setzt also v. 21 vor v. 16. Die jüngere Tradition sucht auf Grund der Ansetzung des Rahelgrabes bei Bethlehem auch Migdal-Eder in dieser Gegend."

<sup>2</sup> J. M. P. Smith, *Micah, ad loc.*, attributes it to the end of the seventh century.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibl. Researches*, III, 273.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., H. P. Smith, *Samuel, ad loc.*

was on the Bethel road. Taking the earlier source alone, without reading into it the topography of the later, there is no necessary conflict with the position of Micah and of the Greek Genesis. Finally there is absolute certainty that here we have the original Greek reading, for Demetrius, who lived, as we have seen, barely a generation after the original translation, says *εκειθεν δε ελθειν εις χαφραθα ενθεν παραγενεσθαι εις Εφραθα ηνειναι βηθλεεμ*. Perhaps we have in this the explanation of the mysterious *chabratha*, for Demetrius, supported by the manuscripts qu, read *chaphratha*, in whose first element we see *caphar*, “village.” Incidentally it hints that qu, which have in this place the reading of Demetrius, may elsewhere be of like value.

A rather surprising fact of unusual topographical interest is the failure of the Greek manuscripts and of the versions taken from them to mention the much-discussed Ur of the Chaldees from which came the patriarch Abraham. All unanimously read *εν τη χωρᾳ* in 11:28 and *εκ της χωρας* in 31. The most natural assumption is that *χωρα* is an error for Ur, to which it does indeed have a superficial resemblance. When, however, we turn these phrases into Hebrew, we have גָּרְנָה and גָּרְנָה respectively, “in the land” and “from the land.”<sup>1</sup> Ur is now written עָרָה, but before the introduction of vowel letters we would have had עָרָה, which gives us the first two letters of גָּרְנָה, “land.” That the true reading was “land of the Chaldeans,” not “Ur of the Chaldeans,” is further confirmed by verse 31, where סִדְּרֵנָה is followed by לֶלֶכֶת אֶרְצָה כִּנְעָן, “to go to the *land* of Canaan.” The paleographical explanation is made still more probable if we conjecture that the error was made at the time of the transfer from the older to the square form of writing, for the lost final יַ of גָּרְנָה would look in the square Aramaic much like the ע of the former. However it happened, the יַ was lost, and the Massoretic reviser identified what was left with the Ur in Babylonia with which post-exilic Jews had become so familiar. That the Greek *χωρα* should have remained uncorrected in all the manuscripts and versions is the more remarkable in that already by 150 b.c. Eupolemus had made the identification. But the very manner in which this was made is

<sup>1</sup> So Ball, *Genesis, ad loc.*

so instructive that it must be quoted entire: "In the tenth generation [after the flood] in a city of Babylonia, Kamarine (*which some call Urie*, but which is, being interpreted, the City of the Chaldeans), so then in the tenth generation was born Abraham."<sup>1</sup> The passage has come down to us without context and is not entirely clear, but one point needs no emphasis. The identification with Ur is known, but not from the sacred books. "Some say," *τινας λεγεν*, can only refer to oral tradition or learned conjecture. It is the identification with Kamarine which is taken as a matter of course; that with Ur is a novelty. Furthermore, *Χαλδαιων πολιν* seems only a paraphrase of *χωρα των Χαλδαιων*.

The testimony of Acts some two centuries later is also of great value. Stephen, in his speech, 7:2,4, quotes Gen. 11:28,31 from memory as follows: *τω πατρι ημων Αβρααμ ουτε εν τη Μεσοποταμια πρινη κατοικησαι αυτον εν Χαρραν . . . . τοτε εξελθων εκ γης Χαλδαιων κατωκησεν εν Χαρραν.* It is clear that the editor had no Ur in his mind, in fact, *εκ γης Χαλδαιων* is simply a reminiscence of the *εκ της χωρας των Χαλδαιων* of the Greek. Ur occurs again in the traditional text of Neh. 9:7, but the late translation which has supplanted and lost us the original Septuagint of this book still has *εκ της χωρας* as in the Greek Genesis, and this is without doubt another **עֶרְאָב**.<sup>2</sup>

By the time of Josephus the connection with Ur had been made so definite that the tomb of Haran was pointed out there,<sup>3</sup> but Nicolaus of Damascus, less than a century before, seems to have known only of a progress *εκ της γης της υπερ Βαβυλωνος Χαλδαιων λεγομενης*, "from the land above Babylonia which is called that of the Chaldeans."<sup>4</sup> But long before his time the consciousness that **עֶרְאָב** was not the name of a city had taken a new direction, and the word had been read as **עֵדָה**, "fire," and many fables followed on this basis, beginning as early as the end of the second century B.C., with Jubilees.<sup>5</sup> Of Ur as the city of Abraham there is little trace until a decidedly late period.

<sup>1</sup> *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, III, 212: Δεκατη δε γενεα . . . . εν πολει της Βαβυλωνιας Καμαρινη (ην τινας λεγεν πολιν Ουριην, ειναι δε μεθερμηνευομενην Χαλδαιων πολιν) εν τουντι Τ δεκατη γενεα γενεσθαι Αβρααμ.

<sup>2</sup> So Batten, *Ezra*, *ad loc.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ant.* i. 151.

<sup>4</sup> Fr. 30; *Jos. Ant.* i. 159.

<sup>5</sup> Jubilees 12:12 ff.

Were these verses in Genesis at all? A long line of critics, Dillmann, Holzinger, Driver, Ryle, Skinner, Procksch, have considered them interpolations. One indication of this possibility must finally be noted.  $\chi\omega\rho\alpha$  has only a superficial resemblance to בְּנֵי נְאָר and we note that it is not the common usage of the Greek Genesis. In the testimony on 42:9, we learn that it was used by Aquila and Symmachus, and here the greater number of the manuscripts have this in preference to the true reading found in a minority of the manuscripts.<sup>1</sup>

Another case where the translations give important results is in 33:18, where the translation of בְּלִשׁ, the שְׁלִימָה of the Samaritan Pentateuch, gives considerable difficulty. Usually there are two alternatives given, to translate "in peace," or with the current Greek, Jubilees,<sup>2</sup> Vulgate, and Syriac make it a proper name and compare the Salim a short distance east of Nablus. No scholar could be expected to lay any stress on the unique reading, *in alteram civitatem*, which the Cambridge Old Testament gives on the single authority of a late Lucca Anonymous Chronicle. Yet this was taken from the Old Latin, and this in turn represents the original Greek better than any extant Greek manuscript, for Demetrios, writing immediately after the actual translation, gives us the original of *in alteram civitatem, εἰς επεραν πόλιν*. Incidentally it proves that we can have no definitive edition until we have used these pre-Christian authorities and have searched even the latest Latin writer for traces of the Old Latin.<sup>3</sup>

Valuable topographical information is added by the Greek translation of chapter 46, especially in the addition after verse 20 of the Hebrew which casual examination might seem to indicate had been taken from Num. 26:28, 39f. The reading Edem for Eran is probably correct. The mother of the subtribe of Machir is given as an Aramean concubine. At first sight we might say that it had been taken from I Chron. 7:14, but it is in all the manuscripts and versions, even the "hexaplaric," it is in Philo, and it was in the text read

<sup>1</sup> DEegi\*j.

<sup>2</sup> 30:1.

<sup>3</sup> It is also worthy of notice that Demetrios has the differentiation between the man Schem and the city Sikimon; that he reads εἰς Λονζά της βαιθηλ for the current εἰς Λονζά . . . . η εστιν Βαιθηλ in 35:6; and εἰς Μαμβρι της Χεβρων in 27.

by the author of Acts, as is proved by the total of 75 descendants in 7:14. Only the obelus of the Syro Hexaplar warns against its authenticity. With such evidence we must accept it as a certain part of the original Greek. According to the current belief the Book of Chronicles was not written until the Persian Empire was a matter of the past. Thus we have less than a century at the most for the book to precede the Greek translation of Genesis, and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the Chronicler was the later. We may also doubt whether the little appreciated work of the Chronicler was known in Egypt so early. So all the arguments are against it having been copied from the Chronicler by the Greek translators, and stronger is the argument against this being true for the Hebrew original. It is, on the other hand, not difficult to surmise why, in the Law, the bastard origin of an important subtribe, once a full tribe itself, should be removed, while in the less widely read Chronicles it was not discovered and thrown out.<sup>1</sup>

Other topographical notes of interest are in 41:48, where the group Afi<sup>a</sup>?ry tells us that Joseph laid up the food in On, where the fact that elsewhere we have Heliopolis<sup>2</sup> shows it to be an interpolation, though not from the Massoretic Text; and in 46:28, where all our authorities take the city Goshen as Heroonpolis; while Goshen the land was identified by the Greek as Ramses, the Bohairic went its own way and made it Pithom.

One of the clearest examples of a repeated story presented by the critics is that of Isaac and his denial of his wife, but that there was topographical change as well seems not to have been noticed. According to the present text, Abimelech was king of the Philistines. This statement is missing in a number of authorities,<sup>3</sup> and the other non-hexaplaric texts have Gerar. We have a hint of the process by which

<sup>1</sup> The Septuagint addition is ignored or opposed by all but Ryle, who well says: "The mention of Benjamin's sons in a list purporting to be a record of those who came with Jacob into Egypt is of course irreconcilable with the narrative. But it illustrates the separate origin of these lists of names (connected with P) from the general narrative preserved by J and E. The difficulty experienced by the ordinary reader was possibly felt in very early times. . . . If (the LXX) list was the original form of the genealogy, it may have been modified in order to get rid of the strange statement, that Benjamin's grandsons and great-grandsons went down with Jacob into Egypt."

<sup>2</sup> A\*Ion.

<sup>3</sup> Lbirw Eth. on 26:8.

the Semitic sheikh of the half-nomadic settlement of Gerar was transformed into the king of the race which occupied this country when the story was revised. Not the least interesting is the sidelight on the problem as to the relationship of the Abraham and Isaac stories. The Greek shows that the two were originally more nearly identical, and that final differentiation did not take place until after the Greek translation. We see the final step of the process which the critics have carried farther back.<sup>1</sup>

Can the Greek translation throw any light on that most problematical of chapters, the fourteenth of Genesis? At the first glance we observe that the Greek itself is somewhat strange,  $\phi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\epsilon = \text{פָּרָעָה}$ ;  $\iota\pi\pi\sigma = \text{סִדְּךָ}$ ;  $\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma = \text{עֲבָדָה}$ . The last two are unique, the other unique for the Pentateuch. A subject for thought is that Aquila has  $\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ , virtually the same reading. We at once begin to suspect that the passage may be a late insertion in the Greek and so in the Hebrew original. This would well agree with the "significant fact that the Maccabees were called  $\alpha\rho\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma \theta\epsilon\omega v\psi\iota\sigma\tau\omega$  (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 163; *Ass. Mosis* 6<sup>1</sup>) . . . . the frequent occurrence of  $\text{שְׁלֹמֹךְ}$  as a divine name in late Pss., the name Salem in one such Ps., and Melk in (probably) another" suggesting "that the Melk legend was much in vogue about the time of the Maccabees."<sup>2</sup> In all this uncertainty, one thing is sure. The story was known to Eupolemus in 142/141 B.C., but it was not in this form. According to him the enemy came from Armenia, and it was to this enemy and not to the king of Sodom that he freely remitted the captives. Furthermore, the sacrifice is placed at the hieron of the city of Argarizin, "which is, being interpreted, the mountain of the Most High."<sup>3</sup> Argarizin is without doubt Mount Gerizim. This identification could be explained as due to Samaritan influence, and it is true that Josephus makes him a Gentile.<sup>4</sup> Thus we might

<sup>1</sup> Note that L om 7b, 8a, the fairness of Rachel and Isaac's long stay, and vs. 10, which is certainly not needed for the sense. In 18, cs has the condensed statement "and Abraham his father named them" instead of Isaac. Eth om, "his father," and Ddp Eth om after the names. In 31, dp om, "and they rose up betimes in the morning and sware to one another" and m om, "and they departed from him in peace."

<sup>2</sup> Skinner, *Genesis*, 270f.

<sup>3</sup> *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, III, 212.

<sup>4</sup> *Contr. Ap.*, i. 23.

save the Massoretic Text, but if we do so, then we also condemn the Samaritan Pentateuch of having been conformed to the Jewish after this date.<sup>1</sup>

Bare reference may be made to another set of phenomena met with in the Greek Genesis. We find some interesting excisions and a considerable number of additions, especially in the Lucianic group. The illustrated manuscript L, suspect as it is, has some omissions curiously like those of the higher critics. Certain sections are shown to be in disorder, and from the multiplicity of witnesses, we may sometimes throw much light on our problems. In the majority of cases, however, there is a certain amount of uncertainty, and consideration is better confined to a separate article.

One more problem may be expected to find discussion in these pages. In the last few years it has been frequently stated, and with emphasis, that the clue of Astrue, the alternate use of Yahweh and Elohim as name for the deity, is disproved by the versions, and that therefore the higher criticism falls. There has developed a depreciation of the versions on the part of the critics as curious as the joy with which attacks upon the traditional text have been received in hitherto conservative circles.

At the very threshold of our investigations we meet an initial difficulty. Most variant readings vary enough to present clear-cut issues. Here the variant of Yahweh is almost certain to be Elohim and vice versa; further, the scribe is especially liable to write the one for the other by a perfectly well-known type of error. Only those readings supported by a considerable number of manuscripts, and those of a good family, can escape the suspicion that they are common scribal blunders. In the Massoretic Text the number of places where we have any sort of variant is so small and the variants have so rarely adequate authority that we might almost assume

<sup>1</sup> In 14:16, διπνικός? Chr Cyr-ed have instead of the regular reading αδελφὸν the much less common αδελφιδόνν. This is exactly the word used by Eupolemus, and so must be accepted as the original reading. The transposition of "Abram's brother's son" in 12 in the Greek shows interpolation, as Olshausen, Dillman, Holzinger, Ball, Gunkel, Skinner. The term "Hebrew," as applied to Abraham, is omitted by d Eth. Verse 17 is much improved by the shorter text of L, "after his return from the slaughter of the kings at the vale of Shaveh." Verse 20a, "and blessed be God Most High," omitted by Ethfr, is better cast out as a duplicate of a phrase in the previous verse. Procksch makes all 18-20 late.

that special care was taken in representing the correct reading of the archetype. But two readings have any inherent probability, Yahweh for Adonai in 18:27 and 20:4, and this is due rather to writing what was already pronounced than for any other reason. The same argument may be used for the similar change in 18:3, though here the manuscript testimony is negligible. Not a single case of change from Yahweh to Elohim or vice versa has sufficient manuscript evidence to secure our assent. The Samaritan Pentateuch is so strikingly similar to the Massoretic Text in this respect that late collation seems demanded.<sup>1</sup> The hopelessly bad state of the Vulgate Text and the doubt as to whether it testified to the Massoretic Text or to the Old Latin, that is, the Greek ultimately, makes its testimony mainly valuable when confirmed by others. The same is true of the Syriae, which can be proved correct only in such instances as 30:24, where it is supported by the regular Greek, plus Aquila and Symmachus, or in 4:1, *ο Συπός* with the Greek and *ο Εβραϊος*, or with the Greek in 15:6 and 30:10, though the fact that in each case Elohim is the supplanter of Yahweh is a little suspicious.

The greatest weight is naturally given to the Greek. At first sight the number of variants is enormous, and it is possible in numerous cases to choose the one one's theory demands. We have seen, however, that on a comparison with the Massoretic Text, made for an entirely different purpose and with the question of the divine names left out of the account, the BAY Text has some twenty chances to one that it has not been tampered with. The group ejj, on the other hand, so constantly appealed to by Dahse<sup>2</sup> to furnish the Greek original, has been conformed to the Hebrew in 20 per cent of the cases, that is, it occupies almost exactly middle ground between the good text BAY and the "hexaplaric" acmoxe<sub>2</sub> Arm. Obviously we should in general confine ourselves to BAY, without prejudice to others on detailed questions. My own impression, to give it for what it is worth and with its subjective character frankly admitted, is that there is no case in Genesis where, on grounds confined to the

<sup>1</sup> In 20:18, F reads Elohim with the Massoretic Text. Note the additional variant of L on Gen. 50:24, **וְיְהָוֶה אֱלֹהִים**, Tisserant, *Rev. Bibl.*, N.S., XI, 542ff. Why Skinner, *Names* 38, says the reading in 7:1 "is not quite certain" I cannot imagine. Von Gall has no variants.

<sup>2</sup> *Textkritische Materialien, passim.*

Greek text alone, we should not accept BAy in their reading of the divine names.

Taking, then, this text, we have two cases of Yahweh being read for Elohim, in chapters 19 and 21, and I have no doubt that they are correct. Against this there are twenty-four cases where Elohim is read for Yahweh. The multiplied use of the generic for the concrete awakens suspicion that the title has taken the place of the proper name. Further confirmation of this suspicion is found in the twenty-three cases of *κυριος ο θεος*, where all but five represent a Yahweh of the Hebrew. Of these twenty-three cases not one represents Yahweh Elohim.<sup>1</sup> What has happened is seen when we turn to the other manuscripts, notably the groups egj and fir, correction or conflation from *κυριος* and *θεος* to *κυριος ο θεος*. With this in view we must look with suspicion on variants of this type in the secondary groups. In any given verse, we may make out a case for individual readings, but, taken as a whole, the readings cannot be accepted as original.

Now just what does this all mean? In a few cases Astrue's clue is certainly misleading, in a few other cases that possibility must be left an open question. On the whole the manuscripts and versions we would use with the most confidence agree essentially with the Massoretic Text in their readings of the divine names. If the current theory is incorrect, that must be proved on other grounds.

Without the later paper it is obviously impossible to sum up all the evidence for and against the theory. In certain cases we have seen the theory corrected, and other examples will be given in a later paper. The corrections may considerably modify the details; as to the theory as a whole once more we must give a *non liquet*.

The exact situation is not, after all, quite correctly expressed in the last sentence. The higher critic has sinned in not devoting more attention to the evidence of the lower, and in some cases this has unfavorably affected his results. He has also made a strategic error in not utilizing to the full the evidence which so regularly proves, and proves in later times than he had assumed, the processes which the critical theory considers basal. In Genesis we do not have editorial redaction to the same extent as in Kings, for example, but

<sup>1</sup> Cf. especially N. Schmidt, *Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, XXXIII, 25ff.

we have enough for proof, and it is the more emphatic in that it is found in the Law. If the Law, the most sacred of the Hebrew writings, was not free from editorial redaction until long after the date of the Greek translation, *a fortiori* we may expect more elaborate editing in the less sacred. Certainly, to the student who has familiarized himself with the editorial activities indicated by the versions, there is nothing strange in the similar activities postulated by the Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen theory.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the very just remarks of N. Schmidt, *Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, XXXIII, 46, with the emphatic condemnation, based largely on misunderstanding of what I wrote, by Barton, *ibid.*, 62ff. Among my predecessors who appreciated the B Text should be noted H. Hrozný, *Die Abweichungen des Codex Vaticanus vom hebräischen Texte in den Königsbüchern* (1909), a Tübingen dissertation, not cited by Rahlf's, *Septuaginta Studien*, and not generally known. The work is primarily textual, only B,A, and the Lucianic are used, and the ignoring of the other manuscript data and of the hexaplaric translators has weakened the work. For instance, the problem of the epitomes seems much simpler than when we recognize the close connection with Aquila, and he can assume a Hebrew original and give them independent value. On the whole his estimate of B is favorable, though he recognized interpolations even in the Jeroboam story. He also recognizes the "Deuteronomistic" character of the additions, but does not follow out his discovery to its logical conclusion. In view of the fact that he clearly does not realize where he is going, his recognition of the Deuteronomistic character is important independent evidence: "Der MT ist an dieser Stelle [12:24o] bedeutend ausführlicher; er wimmelt geradezu von deuteronomistischen Zusätzen . . . die in dem Zusatz fehlen. So gewährt uns hier der griechische Zusatz wieder einen Blick in die Werkstatt der Deuteronomisten" (39). "Das Plus des MT ist meist nur sekundärer Art. Höchst interessant ist, dass manche Sätze, die deutlich einen denteronomistischen Charakter tragen, in dem Zusatz fehlen. So sind wir vor die Frage gestellt, ob es näher liege, dass ein kurzer und einfacher Text von einem späteren Bearbeiter durch deuteronomistische Zusätze und durch Wiederholungen erweitert worden. . . . Wir müssen uns für das Erstere entscheiden, weil es das Naturgemäße ist und in den Geschichtsbüchern des AT immer wieder vorkommt" (41).



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